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AUTHOR Risager, Karen
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ABSTRACT

A description is provided of foreign language and related cultural education (English, French, and German) in Denmark since the 1950s. The first section gives an overview of the development of Danish society in general since the second world war, and more specifically, of developments in foreign language teaching. The second section briefly defines the humanistic and social aspects of culture in foreign language teaching. Research and debate in connection with cultural education is discussed in the third section, focusing on efforts before the 1970s, educational policy, educational strategies, and the different directions taken in the three languages concerned. The fourth section outlines the official guidelines for the languages, and the fifth presents analyses of the content and design of instructional materials used at the elementary and intermediate/advanced levels. Two subsequent sections look at recent educational and pedagogical reforms and the current teaching situation. Finally, the Danish situation is examined in relation to those of Britain, West Germany, and France. A bibliography of over 60 items, most in Danish, is included, and charts of the Danish educational system and a list of text titles are appended. (MSE)

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Karen Risager

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Karen Risager
University of Roskilde

CULTURAL STUDIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN DENMARK

This paper gives an account of cultural studies in foreign language teaching in Denmark, more specifically the teaching of English, German, and French in the general school system from the 50's.

The paper contains the following sections:

1. A brief overview of the development of Danish society and development in the area of foreign language teaching.
2. The extended concept of culture.
3. Research and debate in connection with cultural studies:
   - 3.1. Before the 70's
   - 3.2. The debate on educational policy
   - 3.3. The professional debate
   - 3.4. The profiles of the languages
4. The official guidelines for the languages.
5. Teaching material for the languages:
   - 5.1. Material for the elementary level
   - 5.2. Material for the intermediate and advanced levels
6. Educational and pedagogical reforms.
7. The situation today.
8. The Danish situation considered in relation to Britain, West Germany, and France.

1. A brief overview of the development of Danish society and development in the area of foreign language teaching.

Since the second world war, fundamental changes have taken place in Danish society, as in the other societies of Western Europe. After the stagnation during the period of occupation, Marshall Aid made it possible to renew production apparatus, and to introduce new technology. Means of communication were developed, and made possible an increase in the international division of labour. Denmark was gradually integrated into the Western economic, political, and military bloc.

The occupational structure changed fundamentally. In connection with the mechanization of the agricultural sector, a large part of the agricultural population settled in the towns, and the industrial and service sectors expanded. Denmark changed from an agricultural country to an industrial country.

The economic growth was accompanied by an increase in consumption, and the greater mobility and the growth of the towns favoured a tendency towards homogenization of everyday life; it became less closed around local cultures, and correspondingly more open to the rest of society, and to the rest of the world, especially the English-speaking part of it. One of the signs of this was the monopoly of the American cultural industry in Denmark during the years following the war.

The 50's in particular were characterized by conservative ideologies, e.g. about the family as a unit of consumption, a tendency that may be partly ascribed to the needs of the expanding mass production for a more stable internal market.

The increasing integration of Denmark into the Western economy required that more people had foreign language qualifications, that English was furthered, and that oral skills became more necessary.

Since the beginning of the century, three languages have been taught in the secondary schools, i.e. for the elite:

English and German for children from the age of 11-12 years, and French for children from the age of 14-15 years. English and German have been taught at almost the same level during the whole period, with a slight emphasis on German before about 1945.

With the 1958 Primary School Act modern languages were introduced into the primary school for the first time as obligatory subjects, i.e. for all children: English (or German) was made obligatory in the 6th year of school, whereas German (or English) was offered as an optional subject in the 7th year. In reality, English became the preferred first foreign language.

Teaching practices continued largely traditions from before the war, stressing grammar and short texts for reading at the elementary level, and reading skills and the development of a general literary and historical education at the intermediate and advanced levels.

The 60's were characterized by the culmination of the economic growth, of progressive developments within political thought and ideology, and a greatly increased intake of pupils in the secondary schools and in the institutions of higher education. At the same time there was a greater international orientation, among other things expressed by the entrance of Denmark into the EEC in 1972. "Communication" became a key word in the general cultural debate.

Foreign languages got more pupils and students, and there was a greater social variation among them as before. There were motivation problems in relation to the dominant role of grammar in the teaching of beginners, and in relation to the traditional educational content. The answer was attempts at more effective teaching at the elementary level by means of adapted audiovisual methods, and a slight toning down of the educational content, in favour of less difficult texts, reflecting a more contemporary everyday usage.

With the Primary School Act of 1970, foreign languages were additionally furthered, as both English and German were made obligatory for all pupils, English (or perhaps German)

from the 6th year of school, German (or perhaps English) from the 7th year.

The 70's were characterized by political left wing radicalization in some political parties, and in some parts of the education system; furthermore, by the new women's liberation movement, and a series of educational and pedagogical experiments.

In the last half of the decade there was a beginning economic crisis, decreasing intake of students both to the (former) large language departments at the universities and to the language side of the secondary schools. There were beginning reductions of public expenditures, e.g. in the education area; as for foreign languages, there was a tendency in educational policy to reduce them, especially German and French.

To the teachers of foreign languages, the 70's meant a growing awareness of the professional and pedagogical crisis, among other things the motivation crisis, and beginning attempts to develop the teaching process at various levels:

As regards teaching at the elementary level:
- from largely reproductive skills dominated by requirements of grammatical correctness to more productive skills ("communication skills")
- from largely instrumental skills to skills coupled with elementary knowledge of everyday life

As regards teaching at the intermediate and advanced levels:
- from the reading of literary texts to methodical work on various types of texts ("the extended concept of text")
- from the reading of isolated texts to theme- and problem-orientation
- from literary and historical education to all-round orientation about contemporary society and about the world ("sociological education")
- from teacher-dominated class-teaching to individualization, pupil particapation, and experiments with interdisciplinary cooperation.

The 1975 Primary School Act gives an increased priority to English in relation to German, as English is made obligatory from the 5th year of school; and in 1976 German is made optional again from the 7th year. In the Act of 1975 it is stated explicitly that it is the intention of the authorities to make Danes bilingual in Danish and English. (See Annex A and B).

The 80's are characterized by continued economic crisis and public expenditure cuts, e.g. in the education area, and by the growth of large grass-root movements against pollution of the environment, and against the international arms race. The development in the information area, e.g. the personal computer, is of importance too.

The higher education area is characterized by a growing internationalization, especially within the social sciences.

There are plans for new systems of secondary education, among others a renewed Gymnasium. At the same time there are still stronger tendencies that the school and the humanistic departments at the universities are oriented towards the demands of trade and industry. The intake of students to language studies at the universities and to the language side of the Gymnasium is still decreasing.

In connection with this, the debate on educational policies has been characterized by a defense of the humanistic content, and a rediscovery and a revision of the traditional literary content of education.

The teaching practice in foreign languages is suffering from the regression, but teachers and researchers are still attempting to strengthen the subjects from the inside, although in a less radical form. Moreover, the experiences at the intermediate and advanced levels are spreading to the elementary level.

At the same time, the teachers are - reluctantly - preparing for the introduction of computer-assisted language learning, especially for beginners.

2. The extended concept of culture.

In the following sections I shall limit the discussion to the theme: cultural studies. In doing so, I shall refer to the extended concept of culture, which - within foreign language teaching - comprises the following aspects:

humanistic aspects:
- aesthetic and literary
- anthropological, both behavioral and subjective (value systems, attitudes etc.)

social aspects:
- institutional (political, social, cultural)
- large-scale social facts (the "panorama")
- selected social problems

However, as the paper mostly deals with the modern aspects of the concept, I am only concerned with the first-mentioned aspect (the aesthetic-literary) in so far as it gives an insight into the foreign society, i.e. if the texts are of a realistic type.

The Danish expressions used to cover the concept, are "kulturformidling" (approximately = cultural transmission), which is the traditional term, and "kulturkendskab"/"kulturkundskab" (cultural knowledge). If you want to stress the social aspects, you may use "samfunds- og kulturformidling" (social and cultural transmission) or "samfundsorientering" (approximately = social education).

3. Research and debate in connection with cultural studies.

3.1. Before the 70's.

The discussion on cultural studies in the 50's and the 60's was very much about the readers for the intermediate level: the teachers wanted texts that were more easily understood, partly because they presented a basic lexicon , partly because they contained current usage. There was also one who - in continuation of Otto Jespersen's reform ideas from the end of the last century - discussed the teaching of begin-

ners, namely Aage Salling (1954). In his book he says that it is important to give the pupils a limited simplified language, so that they can say something about themselves, not about the text in the textbook. He is about the first to stress the importance of the pupils' own life and expe-riences.

In 1968 appeared an article that is the first to discuss cultural studies as such: Sunesen (1968) (English). The author demands a broadened concept of culture, and suggests introducing American cultural anthropology, among other things he refers to R. Lado's ideas about parallels between the comparison of languages and the comparison of cultures. He formulates a question that thematizes the principal pre-occupation in the following discussions on cultural content: "How can we make the conception of the foreign national culture - that the teaching cannot avoid to convey - both reasonably realistic and varied, and at the same time make it sufficiently coherent and lucid without being run down by the cheap generalizations that always thrust themselves forward?"

The article has not been widely debated, however, partly because it appeared some years before its time, partly be-cause the American tradition has not otherwise influenced the discussion in Denmark directly.

3.2. The debate on educational policy.

Since the mid 70's the debate has been strongly influenced by the tendency of educational planning to reduce language teaching. Some points of the debate will be noticed here:

In 1978, U90 appeared: Comprehensive educational planning up to the 90's, written by Det centrale Uddannelsesråd (CUR), i.e. The Central Educational Commission. It is a long-term, broad introduction to a debate on educational policy, and it does not consider the individual subjects. But it also deals remarkably little with Denmark's integration in inter-national economic, political, and cultural affairs, and with the challenges that this situation creates for the education

system, among other things in the form of the teaching of foreign languages and foreign cultures. It only mentions that a good command of English will have to be a part of the general qualifications for further studies (of any kind), and by this the authors think primarily of reading skills in professional literature.

As an answer to U90, the language teachers' associations at the Gymnasium and the H.F. published a booklet in 1980: "Ud med sproget?" The aim was to point out that everybody in Denmark needs a good command of foreign languages, and that English should not be the only obligatory language. The book contains a series of views on foreign language qualifications, mainly from representatives of various trades and industries, and trade unions, together with some examples of what can be the content of foreign language teaching today. However, it does not present a coherent conception of the aims and content of language teaching; and it has been criticized for being too instrumentally oriented towards the needs of economic life, and for underestimating the potentials of language teaching in the matter of general and critical education (cf. Folke et al. 1981).

A wide range of language teachers' associations arranged a language conference in Copenhagen in 1982: "Sprog - individ - samfund". Before the conference, some material had been published (a special issue of Sproglæreren, the leading professional journal on language pedagogy) about language and educational policy in Denmark, about foreign language teaching in other countries, and Denmark's relations to the rest of the world. It points out that languages in Denmark are threatened from two sides: the attempts of educational planners and politicians to reduce language teaching, and the structural experiments going on in the Gymnasium area, which favour subjects like Social studies and Danish, and correspondingly tend to disfavour languages, quantitatively (number of lessons), and qualitatively (from independent subjects covering cultural studies to subjects oriented towards the reading of sources defined by the other subjects). They demand a pluralistic language policy, implying among

other things that English does not have the absolute priority as the only obligatory language, and that everybody in Denmark should know more than one foreign language (Lis Glebe-Møller (French)).

After the conference a report was published (Rapport 1982), also called "Ind med sproget?" It is mainly a summary of the panel discussion, which lacked perspective, being mostly concerned with the share of the languages in the school curriculum, and it contains some concluding remarks by Ebbe Spang-Hanssen (French) about the cultural role of languages in Denmark, and a proposal that maybe the future lies in systematic, applicable descriptions of the lexicon and of semantic fields.

3.3. The professional debate.

The discussion on the content of language teaching in the 70's was characterized by a critical trend that originates chiefly in West Germany. It can be divided into four main currents:

I The debate on the concept of general education ("almendannelse"): if or in what ways languages can meet the requirements laid down for schools concerning the general education of pupils, and what the specific task of the language courses is then. In the 70's this debate was characterized by an interpretation of the concept of general education that went in a sociological and social anthropological direction, comprizing both factual knowledge of society, and insight and empathy in relation to the ways of living of specific groups. At present the interpretations are marked by the regression of some teachers and researchers to the earlier conception of general education, stressing the work on literary texts as the central element of general education.

One of the first to take up this discussion, is Gerd Gabrielsen (Gabrielsen 1978 (English)). She points out that the typical attitude towards languages during the whole century has been that modern languages are taught mainly for instru-

mental reasons; and she argues that language teaching has a role in general education that has to be taken seriously, so that pupils are allowed to consider their own culture as one of many. She does not, however, develop her interpretation of the concept of general education any further.

Taking the teaching of Danish as a point of departure, Uwe Geist deals with cultural studies in a paper from 1979, which introduces a series of papers by different authors on cultural studies in Sproglæreren. He describes the social and historical background explaining that the content of language teaching, Danish as well as foreign languages, has changed its focus from language as a tool for thinking: the literary education, to language as a tool for communication: pragmatics and communication skills. Then he argues (referring to Vygotsky's work on cognitive development) that it is important to maintain both language functions, and that the potential for cognitive development that foreign language teaching offers lies partly in the development of the pupils' understanding of the systemic character of language, partly in cultural studies, i.e. a confrontation of the pupils' reality with the foreign reality through a content that offers relevant problems, possibilities of identification, and real information. His position is that of stressing the importance of sociological education.

In a paper on languages and general education, written in consequence of the plans for a new Gymnasium, Peter Harder (English) describes (Harder 1982) how the traditional concept of general education was abandoned in the 70's because of the demands for useful social studies, but that it is being rediscovered and revised, primarily in the subject Danish, but now also in the foreign languages. The revised, modern concept of general education has to do with the understanding of ways of living and behaving in the social communities one lives in. And he emphasizes that the value of humanistic studies lies in that they allow people, through the reading of texts, to familiarize themselves with what life feels like under different circumstances, i.e. they communicate the internal aspects, contrary to the socio-

economic studies, which communicate the external aspects. The task of foreign languages is then to further the modern concept of general education by enabling students to understand ways of living and behaving in different communities and societies. He also stresses that everybody, whatever their private and professional demand, needs this possibility of contact and inspiration, coupled with critical discussion. Peter Harder sympathizes with the concept of sociological education, but at the same time he stresses the potential of literature.

Another point of view in the debate on general education is Per Øhrgaard (1984) (German), who argues that language studies must get back their status as disciplines covering substantial cultural studies, and that it is important to maintain that the central concern in language teaching is the literary and cultural work. The article identifies with the traditional concept of general education in an only slightly revised form.

II The debate and research within the frames of communicative language teaching, as it has been developed in West Germany, among others by H.-E. Piepho and his colleagues. Communicative language teaching identifies communicative competence as the central objective of language teaching, and as such it is one of the answers to the pragmatical orientation of the 60's and the 70's. It also refers to the Habermas tradition, being concerned with the possibilities of democratic communication inside the class-room. The cultural content is subordinated as an element of communicative competence, and isprimarily connected with the pupils' own experiences in their own country. When the communication simulates communication in the foreign society, the information given is mostly restricted to practical facts relating to the communication situation. Moreover, the pedagogical problems involved in the work on a foreign culture are not discussed.

It was mainly the subject German that in the late 70's was influenced by discussions of communicative competence, and

in 1980 the book "Kommunikativ fremmedsprogsundervisning" appeared (Lammers and Nygaard). Communicative competence is said to be the central aim of language teaching, and according to the authors, communicative competence comprises: 1. linguistic knowledge and skills, 2. awareness about how the language functions in communicative situations - and this is achieved through work on the content of texts, i.e. with the foreign language and the culture it expresses, and 3. awareness of the consequences of one's behaviour towards other people, and a moral foundation for one's behaviour. Cultural studies thus function as an - although important - element in the communicative competence, and is not dealt with further.

In a later paper (Lammers 1981) Lammers describes communicative competence as a re-interpretation of the concept of general education. This interpretation is sociolinguistic rather that sociological, and has not been involved in the debate on general education.

III The debate and research within the frames of ideological criticism, which is especially interested in cultural content. (The communicative approach is critical too, but not very much with respect to cultural content). The adherents all work within the extended concept of culture, especially the modern socio-economic aspects. They have a critical view of the ideological distortions of much traditional language teaching, and demand breadth, realism, comparison and engagement in cultural content. This trend is influenced by the discussion on Landeskunde in West Germany.

The first greater critical investigation of language teaching (and that meant investigation of the teaching material) was an analysis of readers and the like used in the Gymnasium and the H.F. (Holmen et al. 1974). The authors conclude that the texts on British society are dominated by the masculine, well-to-do, privileged minority in England.

The first to discuss cultural studies in a more systematic way, were Helga Andersen and me (French) in a series of pa-

pers, e.g. Andersen and Risager 1977, which appeared in the book "Fremmedsprogspædagogik", a much used teacher's textbook. We undertook an analysis of textbooks for the elementary level (resumed in this paper in a slightly enlarged and updated form), and we formulated a series of principles of realistic teaching of culture and society. Our point of departure was that foreign language teaching always contributes so pupils' understanding of reality in some way, that it is an element in their socialization.

For cultural studies to be realistic, the universe that is presented should be as near the target society as possible. That means primarily that pupils should be offered a balanced, comprehensive view of society, and possibilities of understanding society as a whole at the macro-level, and a correspondingly comprehensive and sympathetic insight in people's total life situation at the micro-level. All persons, situations, attitudes etc. should be identified socially and geographically, so as to sharpen the pupils' sociological awareness. It is important that both positive and negative aspects of the foreign society are mentioned; teaching must not be emotionally neutral, but should allow pupils to engage in social problems and identify with persons, groups etc. These principles should apply to the elementary level as much as possible.

We discussed the problem of integrating cultural and linguistic content. Basically, we are of the opinion that teaching cultural content and teaching linguistic skills are equally important, also at the elementary level. In integrated material for the elementary level both the cultural and the linguistic content have to be planned, and therefore categories should be developed for the cultural dimension, like those that have been developed for the linguistic dimension, as for instance the functional-notional categories of the Council of Europe approach.

Marie-Alice Séférian (French) agrees with Helga Andersen and me in a paper from 1979, stressing that culture teaching should be realistic, and that it should not conceal

problems. However she doubts if it is possible to carry out a full integration at the elementary level. She mentions her own work on some material for the intermediate level of French, concentrated on a small French village (Séférian 1980).

In 1980 Marianne Lautrop published an analysis of sex roles in beginners' textbooks in French, and concludes that they contain a heavy element of traditional views of sex roles, and that they are one-sided and not representative of French society (partly with the exception of "On y va").

Helga Andersen and I have also (Risager and Andersen 1980) discussed what parts of the lexicon contain ideological aspects, thus playing a role in socialization, and what parts do not. We discuss the selection of words for a language course which integratescultural and linguistic content, and we consider the usefulness of the concepts and words of Un Niveau-Seuil and other elementary word lists, e.g. Le Français Fondamental.

A group of teachers and researchers at the University of Odense have been working on the extension of the communicative approach into intercultural communication as it has been developed in West Germany, e.g. by researchers at Bielefeld, since the early 80's (Elbeshausen and Wagner 1982, Hach and List 1983, and Jensen 1983). They have been interested primarily in everyday concepts and cultural isomorphism, i.e. the opinion that the concepts of the foreign culture are identical with your own, apart from some strange deviations. They have described analyses of everyday life in Denmark and West Germany, and they are of the opinion that the central task of foreign language teaching is to sensitize pupils with respect to their own everyday concepts, so as to neutralize cultural isomorphism.

A group of teachers and researchers in Copenhagen from the University of Copenhagen, The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (the post-graduate teacher-training college), and The School of Economics and Business Administration, are working within the frames of the project "English in Denmark",

which has existed since the early 80's. It deals with the influence of the English-speaking world in Denmark, e.g. in the school system. The studies comprise for instance: Investigations of the texts read in English courses in the Gymnasium and the H.F. (Skydsgaard and Vesterholm 1983, Vesterholm 1982). Contrastive descriptions of British and Danish society, and studies of Danes' myths and stereotypes of the British, and the reverse (Sevaldsen and Djursaa 1986). Henrik Specht has written a paper (Specht 1985) where he discusses the concept of culture, and the position and the content of the component of cultural studies in school and at higher levels of education. He makes a distinction between languages as disciplines of skills, of orientation, and of education, saying that these three functions should be equally fulfilled. He then discusses three basic models for cultural content: 1. the model that gives an overview over institutions and the like, 2. the model that is project- or theme-oriented, and 3. the model that is news-oriented. After having discussed the advantages and disadvantages of these, he suggests finding a compromize that combines all of them. At any rate it is important, he says, that cultural sutides do not become too fragmentary and incoherent.

There are somewhat different views within the school of ideological criticism, although it is not possible to ascribe any of them unambiguously to the teachers and researchers I have mentioned:

The view of society: Some stress the necessity of including the "hard" socio-economic facts in the description of society, and think that work on non-fiction descriptive and explanatory texts should be a strong element in the teaching process. Others think that maybe the socio-economic facts should be mentioned, but the focus should be on experiences and problems of everyday life in the foreign country, and that this can, and should, be done by reading literary texts, documentary texts, and short texts for everyday use (posters, advertisements a.o.).

The view of history: Some stress the necessity of concentrat-

ing on contemporary culture and society. Others think it is important to maintain the historical dimension, and to work on literature in its historical and social context.

The view of the role of the pupils: All agreee that the interests and backgrounds of the pupils should be reflected in the selection of social and cultural topics. But some let the topics remain isolated from each other, others underline that it is important that the teacher helps by pointing out relations and connections between the topics, thus trying to give pupils a structured view of the society and culture in question.

I have distinguished between the communicative approach and the ideological criticism approach. However, there have been attempts to combine the two, partly in Helga Andersen's and my own work, partly in Fritz Larsen's, and especially in Robert Phillipson's and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas's work on "inter-cultural competence":

Fritz Larsen (English), who has primarily worked within the frames of communicative language teaching, published a paper in 1980 in a special issue of Sproglæreren on communicative language teaching. He is against defining language teaching as the teaching of skills plus some undefined accessories containing information on the culture of the foreign country. In his opinion, communicative competence presupposes cultural skills ("kulturfærdighed"), i.e. strategies to bridge differences in cultural background, which in turn presupposes some knowledge of what is specific of the culture of the person one is communicating with. The task of language teaching is thus to remove obstacles to international communication. He is among the first in Denmark to touch upon the problems of intercultural communication.

Robert Phillipson (English) and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (minority teaching) wrote an interesting paper in 1983, where they expose a tentative theoretical framework for analysing intercommunicative and intercultural competence and considering their teachability in foreign and second language learning. They are against defining cultural competence as

something subordinated to communicative competence, and they treat the two concepts as independent, while pointing out some interrelations. In their opinion, cultural competence comprises: 1. a cognitive component: knowledge of the foreign culture. This can be taught to a large extent, and cultural studies traditionally lie within this dimension, 2. an affective/empathetic component, which is much less easily taught, and 3. a behavioral component, which may be taught to a certain extent. They discuss a series of examples of communicative problems in order to find out to what degree they are determined by linguistic factors or to what extent they are determined by cultural factors, and the conditions for the problems being solved or not.

It appears that the two trends: the communicative approach and the ideological criticism approach, are converging at present. The adherents of the communicative approach are realizing that is is necessary to investigate cultural mattern seriously as an important area with its own specific pedagogical problems. Some of the adherents of the ideological criticism approach are leaving the socio-economic demands at the macro-level, and going in the direction of studies of everyday life, myths and stereotypes. Perhaps the two trends will meet in the interest in international and intercultural communication.

IV <u>The research on the broad historical and social functions of language teaching</u>. Concurrently with the mounting interest in the qualifications given by language teaching, and the present debate on educational policy, the 80's have seen an interest in the history of language teaching, including cultural studies, as well as an interest in the place of foreign languages in the sociological pattern: the command of foreign languages as a possible sign of class membership, and the socializing functions of foreign language teaching, especially with respect to girls.

A book which gathers analyses of these themes is Kristiansen

et al. 1984 "Umoderne sprog?" The authors come from universities and gymnasiums. The point of departure is a critical view of the way language teaching functions today. The introductory article (Jakobsen et al.) is an attempt to make an outline of the social history of foreign language teaching,and some of the socio-economic background explaining the new content of general education: sociological education. The aim of the book is also to bring together different pedagogical alternatives: on the one hand the "antiauthoritarian" pedagogy and the critique of socialization, which are concerned with pupils and teachers, and with the organization of the teaching process (for instance Jacobsen), and on the other hand the ideological criticism tradition, concerned with the content of teaching (cf. Hansen and Madsen, og Risager; the last mentioned analyzes the nationalistic tradition of language teaching). A further aspect which is touched upon, is foreign languages as women's subjects. All the authors of the book are women (though this was not intended from the outset), and some of the articles treat the specific situation of girls and women.

It should be mentioned that there is no special forum for cultural studies in Denmark. The various researchers and practitioners cultivate their own areas at the various institutions, but there is practically no common exchange of experiences and opinions.

At Roskilde University Centre a forum is being established which unites people from different parts of the education system in order to exchange experiences with development of methods and content in foreign language teaching: technical schools, business schools, gymnasiums, and universities. It is a series of seminars, and the topics that have been dealt with until now are project work in foreign language teaching (Jakobsen 1985), and intercultural communication. In connection with the last topic I read a paper on the different content of the culture concept in the USA, Britain, France, and West Germany, and the national and historical backgrounds for this (Risager 1987). It is possible that these seminars may further the development of a broader forum for discus-

sions of cultural studies.

3.4. The profiles of the languages.

The three languages have developed different profiles, for many reasons that have to do with the position of the language in school and in society, the professional traditions, and individual interests.

English: With respect to the elementary level, there has not been a very strong tradition for critical analysis, neither of the cultural aspects, nor of the linguistic aspects. The teaching of linguistic skills has not, during this century, been characterized by a large proportion of grammar work, but by elementary speaking skills in connection with short texts in the areas that children were supposed to be interested in, cf. the Otto Jespersen tradition, which has been maintained to a large extent in English. And it is not very obvious to criticize the content of the teaching of children of 11-12 for not giving a realistic insight in foreign society (though I think this should be done). Moreover, there are no serious motivation problems in English. Pupils already know that English is necessary for them. Still, it should be mentioned that a project on communicative language teaching and pupil autonomy has been developed (cf. Gabrielsen 1982).

Thus, even if teaching practices have gone in a more communicative direction, the debate on this has not been extensive. Another reason for this is perhaps that research on linguistic aspects has been dominated by research on learner language, which continues the communicative approach within language pedagogy, but is more descriptive than critical. The research on learner language has been carried out within the PIF-project (Project in Foreign Language Pedagogy), cf. Færch et al. 1984.

At the intermediate and advanced levels there is a strong tradition of working on problems of content, critical examination of material, and development of new material. This

has to do, of course, with the fact that British and American culture is so present in Denmark, and that pupils reach a good level of proficiency. In addition, attempts to direct English studies towards other areas of application, for instance commercial studies, international studies, studies of third world problems, have offered new opportunities to strengthen the socio-economic aspects of cultural studies.

German: At the elementary level there has been an intense debate on communicative language teaching. The point of departure is the dominant role of grammar work and the demands of grammatical correctness. Another concern has been the necessity to make the subject attractive for the pupils, who have been allowed to choose other subjects instead since 1976.

At the intermediate level, cultural studies have been discussed, but not very extensively (in German, cultural studies are always referred to as Landeskunde, whereas in English and French the Danish expressions are mostly used). Within the communicative approach, a research project has been carried out at Odense University, comprising studies of learner language, and studies of class-room communication, cf. Wagner and Petersen 1983. But with the project on contrastive analysis of everyday life, the Odense researchers have directed their attention to problems of cultural content.

French: At the elementary level, there has been a strong interest in both linguistic and cultural aspects, and in the integration of them. The main reason for this is that the subject comes late in the school curriculum, so that pupils are almost adults. Therefore grammar learning goes relatively fast, and at the same time the cultural content has to be at an adult level of maturity. Moreover, French has to be made attractive for pupils; it is true that the subject is obligatory on both sides of the Gymnasium, but there are motivation problems, especially on the mathematics side, because many pupils there find it little justified to work with French for 3 years, while having to stop English (or German) after the first year of the Gymnasium.

Since the problem of cultural studies presents itself so clearly already at the elementary level, there has been considerable work on the pedagogical aspects of the cultural content, e.g. problems of selection and progression, and problems concerning the conflict between attaining basic oral proficiency and attaining proficiency in reading, a conflict which arises because of lack of time.

As for the intermediate level there has been much activity as well with developing new material. The periodical Tous Azimuts may be mentioned, for instance. It contains cultural material, especially authentic texts, for the Gymnasium courses at all levels, including the elementary level.

Among the things that contribute to a strengthening of the socio-economic aspects is the creation of an information centre on France at Roskilde University Centre "Frankrig Information". One of its activities is to publish a monthly newsletter on France. Moreover, a programme for specialization in documentary work with respect to France has been created at the University of Aarhus.

4. The official guidelines for the languages.

The most important points in the development since the 50's are:

2 reforms of the "Folkeskole" (1958 and 1975)
4 reforms of the "Gymnasium" (1953, 1961, 1971, and 1984)
and the creation of the "H.F." + 1 reform (1967 and 1974).

As to the Folkeskole, the change from 1958 to 1975 is clear: while there is no demand of cultural studies in 1958, the 1975 reform states that the teaching of all three languages is to enable pupils to become well informed about life and culture of the countries where the language is spoken, so that they acquire a more solid foundation for international understanding.

As to English and German in the Gymansium and the H.F. (which concerns the intermediate and advanced levels), there has been a more gradual development. During the whole period,

one of the aims has been to enable pupils to get an insight into English and German culture. Formulations of this have always been broad:

- characteristic aspects of English culture (and, from 1971):
- characteristic aspects of the culture in the countries that use the English language as a medium, notably England and the USA.

- characteristic aspects of German culture (and, from 1971):
- characteristic aspects of the culture of the German-speaking countries.

Since 1971, the perspective has been widened to the countries that use English and German respectively, but otherwise the formulations are almost identical during the whole period. There are some differences, though, that are expressed partly in the aims, partly in the practical guidelines:

German is more oriented towards history and the history of philosophy (topics proposed in 1971: The Reformation, liberalism and marxism in the 19th century, psychoanalysis, social and political struggles in the 20th century). English is rather oriented towards the history of literature and, at the same time, contemporary social problems (topics proposed in 1971: war, race, death, love, generation conflicts, environment, problems of education, social conflicts). The regulations concerning the selection of texts are more restrictive and conservative in English, and furthermore, it is not, in English, permitted to include textbooks on culture and society in the preparation for examinations. This situation has probably to do with the fact that English is traditionally the principal educational school subject beside Danish and History.

It should be noted that the cultural aims only concern the H.F. and the modern languages side of the Gymnasium. On the mathematics side there is no demand of cultural studies (though there is in the Folkeskole). Maybe this has to do with the fact that courses in English and German cover only 1 year on the mathematics side, and with the attitude that language teaching here mainly aims at the reading of profes-

sional literature. But it is important to note that the *proportion of pupils choosing the modern languages side* is declining fast in recent years, so consequently fewer and fewer pupils have to deal with cultural studies at an advanced level.

The teaching of French at the Gymnasium and the H.F. (which includes the elementary level) occupies a place apart, as the aims of that subject did not comprise cultural studies officially until 1984 (though they have existed in the practical guidelines since 1971):

- characteristic aspects of the culture of France and of other countries that use the French language as a medium.

(French is taught both on the languages side and the mathematics side of the Gymnasium).

The aims are all characteristic by being broad and open to various interpretations, covering both aesthetic, literary, anthropological and socio-economic aspects of the concept of culture. In practice, the interpretations have changed focus, of course, so that everybody agrees at present that socio-economic matters are of importance to a certain extent.

It is considered to be an advantage that the formulations are broad, partly because there is freedom of method in Denmark, i.e. it is the responsibility of the individual teacher to choose the method and - in collaboration with the pupils - the teaching material.

It should be noted that the guidelines for the Folkeskole (1975) indirectly demand breadth with respect to social, ideological and religious matters. And on the other side that the guidelines for English at the Gymnasium (1971) dissuade from teaching an overview of culture and society. That is, there is no official demand of coherence in cultural studies.

5. Teaching material for the languages.

Among teaching materials, those at the elementary level occupy a place apart. For to the extent that they are used,

and they still are, although there have been many experiments with alternative material, they determine the cultural content, and what is even more important, they determine the pupils' impression of what language teaching can offer. Therefore I shall deal with the elementary level separately.

5.1. Material for the elementary level.

Three main types of content can be distinguished in foreign language teaching:

1. Non-social: The content could be for instance various things and processes in nature: sun and moon, animals and plants etc. Some have been attracted to this kind of content, because it is universal and at the same time it can be expressed poetically in linguistically simple poems and the like.

2. Social in an general way:
   A: The content can be a human community, or aspects of human communities, with general social phenomena and processes. (In reality they are mainly aspects that are characteristic of capitalist, industrialized countries or classes). This type of content is very common.
   B: The content can be a human-like community, but the population consists of talking animals. This has been tried, especially in the teaching of children.
   C: The content can be an international universe characterized by communication at a lingua franca level. This type is becoming rather common.

3. Social in a specific way: The content can be about a specific society with its specific historical and social conditions. This type is gaining ground.

Theoretically, it is possible to start language teaching with any of these types of content, but each has some consequences as to the possibilities at the linguistic level. For instance, it is probably difficult to carry out situational or functional language teaching on the basis of a non-social content. But it is important to stress that the different types are not equally justified when you consider the pedagogical and

educational consequences. When the content is a specific society, it can both satisfy pupils' wishes to acquire linguistic tools, and gratify their curiosity regarding the foreign country. They get the opportunity to see others' experiences, and to compare with their own. These things cannot be done if the content is social in a general way. Once the elementary phase is over, however, I find it legitimate to have periods with non-social or general social content, if one wants to exercise communication at a lingua franca level.

My analysis of the universe found in the material (i.e. the textbooks) thus concentrates on the ways the universe relates to the specific social reality of the foreign society in question. The categories of the analytical framework are derived from models for analysing realistic prose:

1. Sociological variation
2. Types of situations
3. Human relations and forms of interaction
4. People's own understanding of the world and themselves: attitudes, values, and perceived problems
5. Material environment, references to time and place in reality
6. Broad social facts (geographical, economic, political, cultural in the traditional meaning), perhaps including the historical dimension
7. Social problems (unemployment, pollution etc.), perhaps including the historical dimension
8. Social relations, connections and contradictions, perhaps including the historical dimension

The analysis should relate to the official guidelines. Before 1975 it was not required that language teaching at the elementary level communicate a picture of the foreign society in question, nor that it communicate a general social content.

The 1975 aims stating that pupils should become well informed about the life and culture of the countries where the language is spoken, must be interpreted as requiring a speci-

fic social content. This goes for the language programme as a whole. But since the teaching of French, which only concerns the elementary level (covering 1 year only), is included in the formulation, one may conclude that the formulation includes also the elementary level of English and German.

It must be said too that the textbooks I have analysed, are still available and in use, though some of them were produced in the 60's (see Annex C).

As mentioned above, the official guidelines do not require systematic or coherent teaching of cultural content. However, I have included this aspect in the framework (the last point), as I am of the opinion that it should be an ideal demand that the syllabus - right from the beginning, and whether one uses an integrated material or not - gives pupils a progressively greater comprehension of the foreign society, a comprehension of connections and contradictions - not necessarily through a succession of topics decided in advance, but through a process whereby the topics treated (perhaps chosen by the pupils) are connected and related to each other.

The textbooks aim at pupils of about 11 (English), 13 (German), and 15 (French).

1. Sociological variation

In the whole period, the middle class has preponderated in German and French. However, from the 70's some representatives of the working class have appeared, and a few black or arabic immigrant workers. In English the social environment has been more indefinable, since we are seldom told about the occupations of the characters, and it cannot be seen in the pictures. But there are no sign of social variation in English.

In the 60's the central characters were almost always gathered in a family, consisting of a mother and a father with two children (in French) or three (in English and German). But since the early 70's this family orientation has been toned

down or has completely disappeared (in a French textbook from 1973 - En français dans le monde - the words père, papa, mère, maman, frère, soeur don't even appear). Family relations are still present in the textbooks in English, probably because of the younger public. In the textbooks for young people (German) they have been replaced by young people together with friends, or isolated. And in the textbooks for young people at the Gymnasium level (almost adults) (French) it is the isolated adult that dominates the picture. Very few persons meet each other more than once.

Sex roles have changed a lot as the old family-centered textbooks always depicted housewives working at home, whereas almost all the women in the textbooks from the late 70's have an out-of-home occupation.

During the whole period, elderly persons of more than 50 years, and small children have been almost inexistant, but a few appear in the modern textbooks. In general, there is a tendency that the characters are restricted to either young people or adults, depending on the public.

The early textbooks always showed native residents, whereas modern textbooks often show tourists or visitors, and the content is then built up around their practical needs.

The family-centered textbooks showed middle class residences with a house and a large garden. In the later textbooks it is often hard to define as it is described in a very vague way. In French, where the content is often characterized by the perspective of the adult tourist, we do not see people's residences, only the reception desk of hotels. In these modern textbooks the tourist's occupation or purpose of travel is often not told.

In the earlier French textbooks the family always lives in Paris. In the later ones the activities take place here and there in various French towns. In the German textbooks the variation has always been great, and in the English it is seldom said where the action takes place; sometimes it takes place in a fictitious town.

Whereas textbooks up to the mid 70's only mention England, West Germany, or France, they have changed a lot, so that they now stress other countries where the language is spoken. In some cases, the scenes are transferred to these countries.

Finally it should be mentioned that the English textbooks abound with animals, especially cats. There are almost no animals in the textbooks for German and French, nor any treatment of the role of pets.

2. Types of situations

In the earlier family-centered textbooks the situations were mostly activities of the families at home (in the sitting-room, in the dining-room, in the garden), and outside the home (shopping, in the bus, holidays in the country), and the activities of the children at school, mostly in the class-room. This might be described as scenarios where conversation took place. The later textbooks are largely dominated by dyadic service-situations: at the reception desk, in the restaurant, at the booking-office etc.) That has to do, of course, with the fact that the teaching material is increasingly directed towards communication situations, stressing linguistic routines that are situation-dependent. However there are still conversations between young people or adults, always in situations of spare time. Situations at work did not exist in the earlier textbooks, but do appear, though rarely, in the newer ones. But it is certain that situations of spare time and consumption prevail. It is also symptomatic that children's work at school and their home work are not dealt with, though the books often reproduce timetables.

3. Human relations and forms of interaction

During the whole period human relations have been quite smooth, neutral and friendly. There is no anger, love, disappointment, hatred or fear. The family-centered textbooks sometimes display regulative functions, parents and teachers telling children what to do. But in the newer books it is

the informative or the phatic functions that prevail.

4. Attitudes, values, perceived problems

Attitudes, values and personal opinions are very rarely expressed in the early textbooks. In the new ones they exist, as the basic categories of language functions include expressing an opinion, and expressing sympathy or antipathy, and the functional approach is coming into the textbooks. Typically characters express personal opinions in interviews, i.e. in rather impersonal situations.

Religious attitudes or activities are totally absent.

Perceived problems are very rarely shown, and they are seldom of a serious type. The problem may be: not being able to find one's way, or not being able to swim (but you are saved). In good cases the problem may be about pocket money, or pupil participation. There are only a few more problems representented in the newer books compared to the early ones.

5. Material environment

The primitive drawings of the early textbooks have been replaced by a large amount of realistic drawings and photos, showing persons, environment, and articles and texts for everyday use (coins, signs, menus, timetables etc.) They are of great value, representing everyday life, but they might be better used to illustrate social and geographical contrasts as well. It is characteristic too, that isolated pictures prevail, perhaps gathered in collages. Connected pictures, for instance strips, have been used for a short period, but seem to have been dropped again.

6. Broad social facts

In the French textbooks since the late 70's, short texts give information (in Danish first for many lessons) on socio-cultural facts, placed at the end of each lesson. Usually, it is information that might in a broad sense be practical to the visitor. This kind of information is finding its way into the German textbooks, whereas in the English textbooks there is no explicit information on social facts. (It should be

noted that children of 11 are not really too young for this sort of information at a basic level; they do read elementary geographical and historical texts in other courses at school).

Geographical information was almost absent in the early textbooks, but in the newer ones many towns are mentioned, particularly in German and French. However, only some names are given, there is practically no information on cultural geography. As mentioned above, the newer textbooks are anxious to tell where English, German and French are used in the world, but there is no mention whatsoever of the global historical background, problems of bilingualism etc.

7. Social problems

Broad social problems have not been touched upon until the most recent time, neither in the texts or in photos and the like. Since the late 70's textbooks in French and German have shown problems like women's work out of the home, or immigrant workers, but only in passing. In the very newest books problems like youth unemployment and violence are mentioned, though not in a very thought-provoking way.

8. Social relations, connections, and contradictions

There are no passages giving historical background, or pointing out connections or contradictions, and there are no invitations to analysis or critical examination, not even in Danish.

Conclusion

Thus, during the 70's important changes of content have taken place in the textbooks for beginners, from the family-centered books to those dominated by young people or adults without any clear family relations, or social relations, and characterized by a somewhat greater social variation, especially in the visual material. From the books one can deduce changes of attitude towards the role of the cultural content:

In the family-centered textbooks, the content had to be cohe-

rent, contrary to their predecessors from the 19th century and generally from the first half of this century too. The coherence was established through a story about a restricted group of central characters knowing each other well. The content had to reflect the life of the pupils to a certain extent, and it had to present models. (Thus the textbooks might be compared to the contemporary literature for children, which does not intend to be realistic, but has - not always conscious - moral or ideological functions). But at the same time the cultural content of the textbooks had to be maximally invisible - un-marked - so as not to take concentration away from the language learnning. Therefore the texts have been elaborated without any intentions of making them valuable from a literary and aesthetic point of view. For that reason they are dull and lack literary talent. So the entertaining element was not great in the textbooks; it was to be found in scattered songs and anecdotes. The authors did not ascribe an informative value to the textbooks, and they should not either.

In the later textbooks, it is mainly the entertaining and aesthetic functions that have been strengthened, by a sudden rise in the number of drawings, richly couloured photos, and an appetizing layout. Moreover, the cultural content no longer has to be invisible, but should be indirectly informative, presenting some social variation and various environments. (Thus this newer type of textbook might be compared to realistic prose and documentary prose.) At the same time, the demand of coherence has been given up, the content being characterized by its kaleidoscopic structure, its isolated persons and pictures. These changes may probably be related to general trends in the present cultural development, where for instance the fragmentation of people's lives is becoming increasingly evident.

In some of the latest textbooks, especially for French, there are intentions of explicit socio-cultural information, through non-fiction texts on various social and cultural themes. But the presented facts are disconnected and do not provoke questioning or critical discussion. It must be

stressed that the guidelines for the languages do not demand any form of overview.

Finally it should be mentioned that whereas the linguistic content shows a growing awareness of pedagogical problems, there are no attempts to tackle the pedagogical challenges with respect to the cultural content, for instance comprehension exercises, invitation to comparative investigations, indexes etc.

5.2. Material for the intermediate and advanced levels

At these levels it is rather the breadth of the selection that determines whether it is possible to secure that the language course as a whole gives a broad, realistic picture of the foreign society.

In the 50's and 60's, the market was characterized by readers: selections of literary texts. The chief concern was whether the texts were sufficiently accessible: easy to read and representing contemporary literature and culture. Some of the readers were described as informative, illustrating aspects of the life and culture of the foreign country.

During the 60's, the Danish Radio (DR) started the production of a series of radio- and TV-programmes for language courses at schools. In the 60's they were dominated by the family, like the textbooks for beginners, but had a certain entertainment value because of a coherent action and funny points. Generally the material communicated an impression of the life and cultural preferences of the middle class, and gave to some extent an historical overview (German) or an institutional overview (English).

In the 70' and 80's, both DR and the publishing houses have produced many new publications, covering both traditional topics and modern topics corresponding to the gaps found in the textbooks for the elementary level: political problems, life conditions of marginal groups, grass-root movements, regional descriptions, economic and social history, new technology, sometimes - but still rarely - considered from an

explicitly Danish point of view. As all-round alternative material one might mention the series: Another England (Holmen et al. 1978), Ein anderes Deutschland (Rosenbohm 1979), and Une autre France (Jensen et al. 1981), which are selections of non-fiction prose that illustrate various important social problems and areas from a critical point of view. As examples of broad descriptions of society written by Danes, one might mention: Contemporary British Society (Lundskær-Nielsen et al. 1986), Deutschland. Geschichte, Geographie, Gesellschaft (Jacobsen et al. 1980), and Frankrig i forandring (Seidelin Hansen 1984). Some material especially elaborated to meet the demands of interdisciplinary cooperation has been published too, for instance Pariserkommunen (Nicolajsen 1975). Thus today it is possible to collect material that gives altogether a reasonably broad picture of Britain, the USA, France, West Germany, and - to a lesser extent - East Germany. Other parts of Europe, and other parts of the world, have received a less detailed treatment until new.

It should be noted that whereas most of the material for beginners has been produced abroad (often in Sweden - this is especially the case in French), the material for the intermediate level has largely been produced in Denmark.

6. Educational and pedagogical reforms

The political and ideological conflicts and innovations of the 60's resulted among other things in a series of educational reforms and pedagogical experiments in the 70's and 80's.

In the area of higher education, two university centres were created, in Roskilde (1972) and in Aalborg (1974). Studies here are project-organized, problem-oriented, and they begin with an interdisciplinary foundation programme. At Roskilde University Centre, for instance, there are three foundation programmes: Humanistic Sciences, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, each covering two years of study. In the humanistic foundation programme, which initiates further lan-

guage studies, the students organize their work in projects about the relations between language and culture, using four humanistic theoretical dimensions as tools: language and literature, pedagogy and psychology, history, and philosophy. The language studies at Roskilde University Centre and Aalborg University Centre are special in Denmark, partly because they begin with interdisciplinary studies, partly because they are project-organized, and partly because cultural studies are weighted as much as language and literature, i.e. 1/3 for language, 1/3 for literature, and 1/3 for culture and society - in the specific programme (English, German, or French) following the humanistic foundation programme. Furthermore, there is a tradition to integrate projects on culture and society with projects elaborated within other university programmes, for instance Geography or History. So at the language departments of the university centres, studies of culture and society have a strong position.

The language departments of the other universities (Copenhagen, Aarhus, and Odense) have also moved in the direction of cultural and social studies, but they have not had the structural possibilities to give them the weight they have at RUC and AUC.

During the last two or three years, some new study programmes: area studies, have been developed at the universities. At Roskilde University Centre for instance, students having chosen German and Geography as their subjects may concentrate on East Germany as a social, geographic, historical and cultural whole. These programmes are interesting because they combine fundamental social and historical understanding with studies of everyday life. Furthermore the programmes cover communicative language learning as well.

In the area of secondary education there have been a great deal of pedagogical and structural experiments, primarily at Herlev Statsskole, which acquired the status of experimental gymnasium in 1976. Experiments with various structures have been undertaken, where subjects were grouped together and in-

tegrated in various ways; experiments with group work, parallel teaching (reading about the same topic in two or more courses, covering different subjects), integration of subjects, and attempts to develop more flexible timetables. Languages have been involved in these experiments to a certain extent, mostly English, but also German, and in a few cases French. Many other gymnasiums and H.F.s have carried out experiments with interdisciplinary cooperation aound topics, and some material has been developed especially for this kind of organization, for instance the above-mentioned material edited by Nicolajsen (1975), which may be used by way of parallel teaching in the subjects Danish, English, French, History, Russian (which in some gymnasiums can be chosen instead of French), Social sciences, and German. Area studies have been introduced too, mostly by way of a cooperation between Herlev Statsskole and Roskilde University Centre, cf. Adrian et al. 1985, which deals with the North-West of England.

In the area of primary education, experiments with pupil differentiation in the same class instead of teaching at separate levels which is required in English and German by the 1975 Act, have prevailed. And there has been some work on pupil autonomy. Moreover, there have been experiments with interdisciplinary cooperation here as well as in secondary education, especially in the 10th year of school, which is optional and has fewer restrictions.

Everywhere these experiments have given rise to discussions on the possibilities and the difficulties for the languages in the cooperation. It has been stressed that motivation grows considerably when the same topic is considered from the point of view of different subjects; but it is very often difficult to get enough opportunity to train oral proficiency, and there is a tendency that the languages are used as tools for the reading of sources and other material in English and German, while the other subjects define the content.

Now in the mid 80's the great experiments are over. For instance, Herlev Statsskole is no longer an experimental insti-

tution. Experiences are still elaborated further, but there are great problems of ressources because of expenditure cuts.

7. The situation today

It is hard to state exactly what goes on with respect to cultural studies in schools today. Some investigations of curriculum with respect to the texts have been made, for instance for English in the Gymnasium (Skydsgaard and Vesterholm 1982), which show that the number of texts about political and economic matters is restricted, and furthermore, that the historical dimension of the subject is only treated with respect to British history, not for instance American history.

I think that all teachers have accepted that cultural studies, including the modern socio-economic aspects, are an important part of the curriculum. As for the elementary level, I think that the opinion is gaining ground that teaching should at any rate give indirect information on the foreign country, even when the teaching is otherwise totally oriented towards communication on aspects of the pupils' own lives.

But there are many reasons why it may be difficult to carry through broad studies of culture and society:

- educational factors: the education of teachers with respect to cultural studies and the pedagogical problems they raise, is still not sufficient, in spite of the growing number of publications on the culture and society of the countries in question, and in spite of a great many courses of in-service education.
- institutional factors: curriculum and examination requirements are often antiquated.
- economic factors: for instance, the schools have very little money to buy new material, and there are restrictions on the possibilities of taking photocopies.
- last, but not least, foreign languages are, as mentioned, in the situation that they have to legitimate themselves in the face of demands to direct the education system towards the needs of trade and industry. That means for cultural stu-

dies to make them more facts-oriented, more oriented towards technocratic knowledge of actual political and economic affairs without the subjective perspective. In that situation many language teachers and researchers defend the humanistic content, and furthermore, focus on the central role of literature.

8. The Danish situation considered in relation to Britain, West Germany, and France.

Compared to Britain, West Germany, and France, Denmark was industrialized late. Not until after the second world war did the share of industry of the gross national product surpass that of agriculture. Partly for this reason, the class structure in Denmark is not characterized by either a large class of industrial capitalists or a large class of industrial workers, but rather a still comparatively large old middle class and - as a consequence of the growth of the well-fare state functions and the service sector - a large new middle class. Furthermore, Denmark is relatively homogeneous ethnically, culturally and linguistically, when Greenland, The Faroese Islands, and the growing immigrant problems are excluded.

These factors may be said to influence the political and ideological climate, so that egalitarian, antiauthoritarian and pragmatic attitudes are quite widely accepted. Such attitudes have been supported by the Social Democratic Party which has had political power during long periods before and after the war. Class differences - which exist of course - are hardly as present in people's minds as for instance in France or Britain.

The political demands of the 60's were followed up quite cooperatively with education reforms and pedagogical experiments as mentioned above. In this connection the egalitarian tradition has been beneficial, and moreover the experiments have drawn upon another educational tradition in Denmark, namely the attitude that the content should derive from the pupils' own lives, a tradition that - for foreign language teaching - goes back to the reform ideas of Otto Jespersen. These educational traditions are expressed in the general objectives

of the Primary School Act (1975), which requires pupil participation in school (though this requirement has not been observed equally in all subjects - foreign languages are among the subjects in which it has been most difficult to carry out pupil participation).

Foreign language teaching has benefitted from the fact that Danish has a small area of application. There is a strong tradition of foreign language teaching, and the motivation level is high, compared to countries like the USA, Britain, and France. And in recent years, where English is slowly getting a function as second language in Denmark, nobody questions that all children must learn English.

Being a small country, Denmark is in a predominantly receiving position in relation to cultural developments in the large countries. Danish post-war culture is influenced by English and American culture very widely. Aspects of French culture (structuralism) have been taken up and developed further in the 50's and 60's, mostly in connection with departments of French, General Linguistics, and General Literature. But during the 60's and 70's Danish culture, especially the educational milieu, has been strongly influenced by trends in West Germany: critical and marxist trends, ideological criticism and experience-based pedagogy. These trends have found a fertile soil in Denmark, many experiments have been carried out, and although the political conditions are not the best at present for the implementation of experiments, Denmark is definitely in a position to give rather than just receive by virtue of her relatively advanced pedagogical research and practice, also in foreign language teaching.

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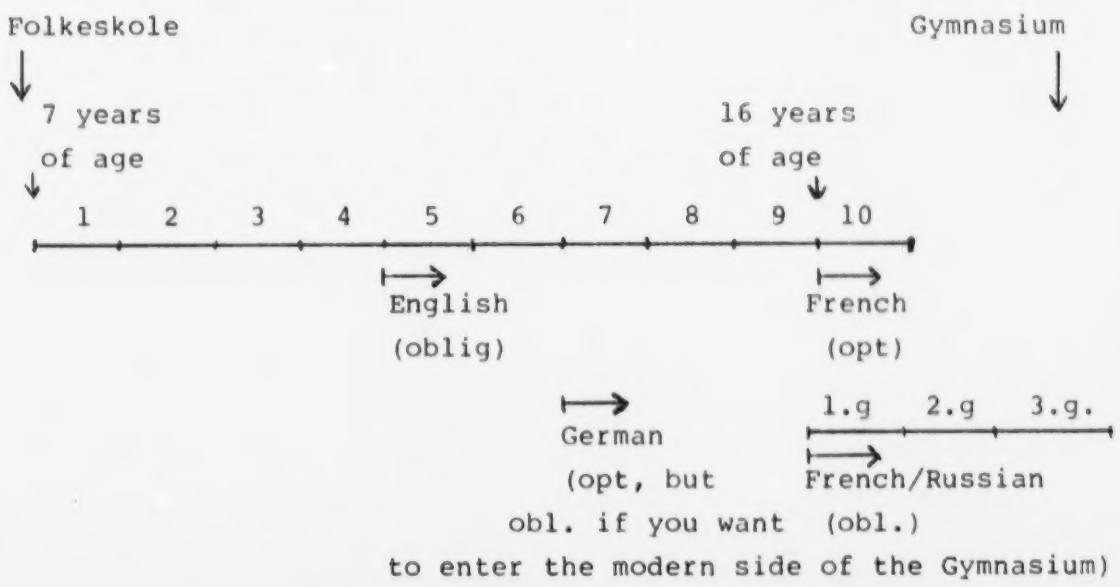
The general school system in Denmark comprises at present:

The primary School ("Folkeskole") of 10 years, 9 of which are obligatory.

The secondary School, which is of two kinds:

1. The traditional type: The "Gymnasium", of three years, preparing for a general certificate (A-level). It has two sides, a languages side and a mathematics side, each subdivided in several branches.
2. The alternative type: The H.F. (HF = Højere Forberedelseseksamen), of two years (four terms), preparing for an examination equivalent to the general certificate (A-level). The H.F. was originally created (in 1976) to meet the demands of adults wanting to prepare for the G.C., but many young people choose the H.F. instead of the Gymnasium, as the H.F. is somewhat less traditional as to content and methods, and more flexible than the Gymnasium.


Folkeskole
Gymnasium
7 years of age
16 years of age
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
English (oblig)
French (opt)
German (opt, but obl. if you want to enter the modern side of the Gymnasium)
1.g 2.g 3.g.
French/Russian (obl.)

Number of lessons per week for the language courses

(a lesson = 45 minutes)

Folkeskole (1975)	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
English	3	3	3	3	3	3
German			3	4	4	4
French						4

Gymnasium (1971)	Languages side (modern lang.)			Mathematics side			
	1.g	2.g	3.g	1.g	2.g	3.g	
English	4	6	6	5	0	0	alternative for the math side
German	3	3	5	5	0	0	
French	5	3	3	5	3	3	

H.F. (1974)	Common Core				Optional supplement			
	1.term	2.term	3.term	4.term	1.term	2.term	3.term	4.term
English	4	3	4	4	0	1	3	3
German	3	3	0	0	0	0	5	5
French					0	3	4	4

Annex C

Material for beginners

English:

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It's English. BRD 1967, Denmark 1969.
English of today. 2nd ed. 1974.
The Grip. Sweden 1970, Denmark 1972.
This Way. Sweden 1970, Denmark 1976.
My best book. 1971.
Okay. Sweden 1974, Denmark 1974.
Imagine you're English. France 1974, Denmark 1980.
English now. BRD 1978, Denmark 1980.
Up to you. Sweden 1974, Denmark 1982.
Kaleidoscope. Britain 1976, Denmark 1979.
Engelsk Grundbog. BRD 1979 (Contacts), Denmark 1981.
Choice. 1982.

German:

Auf deutsch, bitte! BRD 1969, Denmark 1969.
Die Treppe. Sweden 1969 (?), Denmark 1971.
Deutsch Aktuell. Sweden 1973, Denmark 1978.
Impuls. BRD 1976, Denmark 1979.
Elemente. 1981.
Kursbuch Deutsch. 1983.
Tysk. BRD 1982 (?), Denmark 1984.

French:

On parle français. Sweden 1964, Denmark 1967.
Rendez-vous en France. Sweden 1970, Denmark 1972.
Bleu-blanc-rouge. Sweden 1973, Denmark 1976.
En français dans le monde. Sweden 1973, Denmark 1979.
On y va. Sweden 1973, Denmark 1976.
S'il vous plaît. Sweden 1976 (not translated)
Fransk. Sweden 1976, Denmark 1979.
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C'est ça. Sweden 1979, Denmark 1981.
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* 4. Peter Harms Larsen, Papirer til 'Samtalens grammatik'
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1977

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* 10. Andrew Tolson, Approaches to language in cultural studies
Ulrich Ammon, Probleme soziolinguistischer Theoriebildung am Beispiel von Dialekt und Einheitssprache

1978

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* 12. Norbert Dittmar, Hartmut Haberland, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Ulf Teleman (eds.), Papers from the first Scandinavian-German symposium on the language of immigrant workers and their children. Roskilde 19-23 March 1978
* 13. Peter Harms Larsen, Tekst og tale - analyser og problemer
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* 15. Karen Risager (red.), Fremmedsprogsundervisning på RUC

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* 19. Elisabeth Bense, Linguistische Theorie und Sprachunterricht
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* 20. Jørgen U. Sand og Søren Kolstrup, 'Il fait rien? Je crois pas que je le dirais.'
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